

THE ALGONQUIAN SERIES

BY WILLIAM WALLACE TOOKER

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THE ALGONQUIAN SERIES

The Algonquian Names of the Siouan
Tribes of Virginia

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THE ALGONQUIAN NAMES

OF THE

SIOUAN TRIBES OF VIRGINIA

With Historical and Ethnological Notes

BY

WILLIAM WALLACE TOOKER



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THE ALGONQUIAN NAMES OF THE SIOUAN TRIBES OF VIR- GINIA.*

THE issue, almost simul-
taneously, of two valu-
able bulletins from the
Bureau of American Ethnology—
The Siouan Tribes of the East,
by James Mooney, and The Ar-

* Read before Section H, American As-
sociation for the Advancement of Science,
at Springfield, Mass., September 3, 1895,
and printed in the American Anthropol-
gist for October, 1895, vol. viii. pp. 376-392.

chæology of the James and Potomac Valleys, by Gerard Fowke—brings to my desk such a collation of facts, historical, geographical, and archæological, that it enables me to supplement their efforts from another field of research, and at the same time to contribute additional memoranda to the nomenclature of our native races, by presenting analyses of the Algonquian appellatives of these people, whose tribal synonymy, confederacy, and migrations have been carefully discussed by the first, and the archæology of whose territory, from personal researches and excavations, has been the theme of the second.

When Captain John Smith and his companions first discovered the falls of the James River, in May, 1607, the native guides who accompanied the explorers related remarkable stories of a nation living farther up the stream toward the mountains, called the *Monacans*, who, at the time of the falling of the leaf, came down and invaded their country. The fear of these Western Indians was such that no inducements the discoverers made could persuade these Powhatans to guide them to the habitations of these people. The stories, however, made so deep an impression upon the minds of the adventurers that

in the following spring Captain Smith was assigned to the command of sixty men, in order to discover and to search for the commodities of the *Monacans*, so as to load a ship for home. But so unseasonable was the time and so opposed was the captain of the vessel to load with anything but the "phantastical gold," as it is expressed, which he, as well as others, believed was obtainable among the *Mona-cans*, that it caused much ill-feeling to arise among the colonists; for Captain Smith, having been of a more practical and conservative nature than many of his associates, preferred to load the ship with cedar,

which he justly claimed was a more "present dispatch than either durt or the reports of an uncertain discovery." After considerable delay the ship was finally loaded with cedar, and the attempt to discover the country of the *Monacans* was postponed.* In the fall another effort was made, when Captain Newport, with one hundred and twenty men, went forth for the invasion of the unknown country. Arriving at the falls, they marched by land some forty miles in two days and a half, and then returned by the same path. They discovered two towns of the *Monacans*,

* Arber's Smith, p. 106.

called *Massinacack* and *Mowhemenchouch*. On their return they were delayed by searching in many places for supposed mines, which was really the object of the expedition; having with them a refiner, who persuaded them to believe that he extracted a small amount of silver from the rock, and, as they relate, better stuff might be had for the digging.*

Smith condenses the information which he subsequently gleaned from the natives as follows: "Vpon the head of the Powhatans[James River] are the *Monacans*, whose chiefe habitation is at *Rasaunweak*; vnto whom

* *Ibid.*, p. 438.

the *Mowhemenchughes*, the *Massinnacacks*, the *Monahassanughs*, the *Monasickapanoughs*, and other nations pay tributes. Vpon the head of the river of *Toppahanock* [Rappahanock] is a people called *Mannahoacks*. To these are contributors the *Tauxanias*, the *Shackaconias*, the *Ontponeas*, the *Tegninateos*, the *Whonkenteaes*, the *Stegarakes*, the *Hassinungaes*, and divers others, all confederates with the *Monacans*, though many different in language, and be very barbarous, liuing for the most part of wild beasts and fruits." *

* *Ibid.*, pp. 366, 367. Powhatan (Arber's Smith, p. 19), also called these people collectively the *Anchanachuck* (= Mass. *Adchan-achu-uk*) "those that hunt in the

One of the *Mannahoacks*, belonging to the tribe called the *Hassinungaes*, whom Smith captured upon the upper waters of the river Rappahannock, when interpreted, said that the *Monacans* were their neighbors and friends, and did dwell, as they, in the hilly countries, by small rivers, living upon roots and fruits, but chiefly by hunting.

This brief summary embraces nearly all the knowledge that we possess relating to these tribes during the period of settlement. After 1609—although undoubtedly often mountains” or “the mountain hunters”—a term corresponding to that given them in later years by the five nations, viz., *Todirichroones*. See Note p. 45.

in contact with the settlers through trade and otherwise—nothing whatever was recorded or preserved relating to them for over sixty years. Even the significations of these tribal appellatives, correct interpretations of which are absolutely necessary for an exhaustive and conclusive study of these people, have been forgotten for many generations.

The questions that now arise, and which I shall endeavor to answer, are these: First, what were the commodities of the *Monacans* that Smith was instructed to search for? Second, what was it that gave rise to lasting impressions in the minds

of the Virginia colonists that valuable mines of copper, iron, gold, and silver were to be found in the same region? Third, Can any of the *Mannahoacks* be identified with tribes or peoples of a later historic period? Fourth, To what language must we assign these and other names of Captain John Smith?

Mr. James Mooney, in his *Siouan Tribes of the East*, has ably demonstrated by his synopsis of early historical references, by his identification of the geographical locations of the tribes in after years, and by his conclusions derived therefrom, that the *Monacans* were not the ancestors of the *Tuscaroras*, as has

been accepted ever since the time of Jefferson, the sponsor for this baptism, but were the progenitors of those people, who were subsequently, by a fortunate series of circumstances, identified by Horatio Hale as speaking a primitive dialect of the Siouan tongue, thus indicating that the original home of the Siouan family must have been in the east. Therefore it is unnecessary at this time and place to elaborate further on these points that Mr. Hale has so learnedly presented from linguistic sources and which Mr. Mooney has augmented and confirmed from historical channels, but to accept it as an incontrovertible conclusion

that the *Monacans* and their tribal confederacy as such, including portions of the *Mannahoacks*, must be assigned to the Siouan linguistic stock.*

These truths accepted, I will proceed to analyze those terms, descriptive in their character, which we have found applied to these people in the early days of the period of colonization. These appellatives were bestowed upon them by their neighbors on the east, the Powhatans and their confederates, who are well known to have been a

* *Siouan*, from *Sioux*, is a corruption of the Algonquian word "*nadowe-ssi-wag*, the snake-like ones, the enemies" (Trumbull).

branch of the Algonquian linguistic stock. Therefore there ought to arise no question whatever in the mind of the critical student of Smith's works against the dictum now submitted, that every one of these terms, without a single exception, are necessarily Algonquian, and consequently should be analyzed and translated by the aid of that language, no matter what the nativity of the people themselves may have been. This declaration will also apply to every aboriginal name occurring upon Smith's map of Virginia, for he was never in contact with other than an Algonkin long enough to learn a name. Be-

sides, the historical evidence would seem to indicate that the greater number of these terms were heard spoken from the lips of the Powhatans long before the colonists saw a *Monacan*. For instance, Captain Newport's guide and interpreter was a savage of the Powhatans called *Namontack*.* Newport named a mine six miles above the falls after him because he discovered it.† Smith's interpreter while among the *Mannahoacks* was an Algonkin, as was also his *Tockwogh* interpreter while interviewing the *Sasquesahanoughs*. His very brief parley

* Arber's Smith, p. 438.

† Strachey, p. 31.

with the *Massawomecks*, as he relates, was entirely by signs.* Therefore it seems to me that failure would be necessarily foreordained in seeking for other than Algonquian elements in any of the aboriginal names of Virginia as bequeathed to us by Captain John Smith.

William Strachey, secretary of the colony, 1609 to 1612, who was more or less familiar with the language of the Powhatans and has left us a valuable vocabulary of that dialect, derives the name *Monacan* from *Monohacan* (or *Monowhawk*), "a sword," † while Heckewelder,

*Arber's Smith, p. 422. †Mooney, p. 26.

through the Delaware, translates it as "a spade or any implement for digging the soil," corrupted from *Monahacan*.* Heckewelder is so rarely correct in his place-name etymologies that he should have due credit for this suggestion, for the fact appears that both of these authorities are correct in their identification of the verbal element of the name, but not in the grammar, application, or true analysis of the term as applied to a people.

The prefix *Mona* is undoubtedly the verb signifying "to dig," occurring in the same primitive form in

* Heckewelder's Names, ed. by Reichel, p. 280.

many Algonquian dialects, from the Cree *Móona*, in the far north, to the Narragansett *Mona*, on the east, and is reproduced at the south in the Powhatan *Monohacan*, “sword,” literally a digging instrument, from *Mono*, “to dig,” prefixed to *-hacan*, an instrumentive noun suffix used only as a terminal in compound words denotive of things artificial,* so designated because so used by the Indians when purchased from the settlers. The same verb figures in other Powhatan cluster words, thus revealing its identity; for instance, in *Monascunnemū*, “to cleanse the ground to fit it for

*Howse, Grammar of the Cree, p. 182.

seed," making it the equivalent of the Narragansett *Monaskúnnemun*; Delaware *Munáskamen*, "to weed." It will be found by analyzing carefully the various synonyms of the term *Monacans*, or *Monanacans*,* with its English plural as displayed, that it resolves itself into the components of *Moná-ack'añough*, from *Mona*, "to dig;" *ack*, "land or earth," with its generic plural of *-añough*, "nation or people"—that is, "people who dig the earth"—the phonetic sounds of which were shortened into *Monacans* by the English, which may be freely and correctly translated as the "diggers

* Arber's Smith, p. 1.

or miners.” The term as such probably designated the whole confederacy collectively. This abbreviation of the sounds of tribal appellatives is characteristic of English notation, as in *Mohawks*, from *Mauqua'uog*; *Mohegans* from *Manhigan-euck*; *Pequots*, from *Pequtto'og*, and others.

The “chiefe habitation” of the *Monacans*, according to both Smith and Strachey, was at *Rasauweak*, or *Rassawek*—a statement that is fully confirmed by analysis of the name. Its earliest notation, however, appears in the Relation of Captain Gabriel Archer,* which Professor Arber suggests may be the official

* Arber's Smith, p. xlvi.

report presented by Captain Newport on his first return, in July, 1607, therefore possibly antedating Smith, in the very corrupt form of *Monanacah Rahowacah*, which, to follow Smith, should have been more correctly printed as *Monacanough Rassauwek*, thus indicating that there was originally a grammatical continuity between the words as uttered by the savages of the lower James. Frequently the sounds represented by *w* in some of the northern Algonquian dialects are replaced by *r* in the Powhatan and other cognate dialects. Allowing for these alternating sounds, or what Dr. Boas terms

alternating apperceptions of one and the same sound,* the derivation of *Rassauwek* is probably from *wassau*, "it is bright, it glistens or shines," which, with a suffix applicable to the object described,† was a term much employed by many Algonquian tribes to designate any kind of white metal or mineral, but which in this case, I believe, for many reasons, was a synonym for mica‡—an article of trade and highly valued by the tribes of the west and east, as indi-

* American Anthropologist, vol. ii. p. 52.

† Tooker, American Antiquarian, vol. xvii., p. 8.

‡ Compare *Wosogolumin'*, mica, and *Woseantechk*, glass, Micmac (Rand).

cated by its discovery in the mounds of Ohio, in the graves of Virginia, and elsewhere. The terminal affix *-wek* or *-weak* (= Massachusetts *wek* or *week*), "the house or home," is the conditional third person singular of the verb—"when (or where) he is at home." Thus we have, in accordance with this analysis, *Moná-ack'añough-wassau-wek*, "the home of the mica-diggers," or "home of the people who dig the earth for something bright." Gerard Fowke * informs us: "Several mica mines have been opened within a mile of the courthouse [Amelia County]. The

* Archæologic Investigations, p. 10.

miners report that in digging they sometimes discover small piles of mica which have been detached from the rock and heaped together. These pieces, usually of poor quality, as if rejected by the workers, are doubtless from aboriginal excavations, as they lie beneath several feet of accumulated earth, and there is no tradition of early mica-mining in this section by the whites." *

* Professor Holmes remarks (Fifteenth Ann. Report Bureau of Ethnology, p. 105): "So far as we can learn, mica was not extensively used by the Chesapeake-Potomac Peoples; but it cannot be safely affirmed that it was not used in some quantity in nearly every given locality since the material is not sufficiently durable to be

Although this discovery is not exactly in the direction of *Rassauwek*, as indicated by Smith on his map, it is in the territory of the *Monacans*, and fully confirms the foregoing interpretation, in the fact that mica-mining was one of the in-

preserved save under favorable conditions. Mica does not occur in form suitable for working within considerable distances of tidewater sites. It is said to have been worked by the natives in several counties of southern central Virginia, and in Pennsylvania and the Carolinas. The processes of mining, as observed in the mines of North Carolina appear to have been much the same as in the quarrying of steatite. The deposits were uncovered and the massive crystals were broken up with hammers, and the best sheets secured to be used as mirrors, or cut into desired shapes for ornaments."

dustries carried on by the early occupants of this valley. The exact site of *Rassauwek* has not been as yet fully established. Smith locates it between the two branches of the river; but Mr. Fowke, who has devoted considerable personal attention to the question, says the point of land between the two rivers is irregular, infertile, rather difficult of access, and nothing is found to show that it was ever occupied by the Indians. On the other hand, Elk Island, in Goochland County, just below Columbia, bears every indication of Indian occupancy, and many specimens of steatite pottery—some rough, others tolerably well

finished—have been found on the island, whereas such are extremely rare elsewhere in the vicinity. From which he concludes: “Altogether it is very probable that the main town of the *Monacans* was on Elk Island.” But he describes another Indian settlement, farther up upon the left bank of the Rivanna, between that river and the James, which corresponds more to Smith’s location. While suggesting this may have been the site of *Rassauwek*, he thinks the evidence favors Elk Island. Smith’s location of tribes out of the horizon of his own researches and explorations must be regarded as approximate only,

although the relations of the Indians, which were his sources of information as regards unknown countries, were in the main quite accurate, as later discoveries bore witness. From Mr. Fowke's description of the island, it may have been at one time the abiding place of another wing of the confederacy, which the occurrence of steatite vessels would seem to indicate.

This wing of the *Monacans*, the *Monahassanughes*, were noted down by Smith both on his map and in his works. Strachey* places them at the foot of the mountains. It will be observed that we have here

* History of Travaille, p. 48.

precisely the same verbal prefix as in the former term, and it should unquestionably sustain the same derivation of *Mona*, "to dig." Now as to the second component, *-hassan*. In the Massachusetts and in some other dialects *hássun*, *hássin*, or *ássin*, with or without the English aspirate, signifies "a rock," which, together with its generic plural of *-añough*, "people," gives us *Moná-hassun'añough*, "people who dig the rock"—that is to say, they were "miners or quarrymen," which fully describes in a most remarkable way those people who excavated in the steatite or soapstone quarries.

Many of these quarries, situated in the valleys and among the hills and forests once occupied by these primitive miners, have been investigated by Mr. F. H. Cushing, Mr. Gerard Fowke, and others. The accumulated débris of the diggings, the abandoned pot-forms, the fragments of steatite vessels, and the rude digging implements of stone bear witness of aboriginal labor through a long series of years under like conditions. The quarries, especially of Amelia County, studied by Mr. Cushing, were of considerable extent, and must have been worked long anterior to the period of colonization—a period from

which we must necessarily date its decline.*

In *Nahyssan* of John Lederer,

* For a full, detailed description of these steatite or soapstone quarries which have been uncovered within the last decade in Virginia, the various tools used in excavating, the mode of working, and illustrations in half tones of the quarries themselves, the reader is referred to the splendid monograph, by Professor William Henry Holmes of the United States National Museum, entitled *The Stone Implements of the Potomac-Chesapeake Tide-water Provinces*, in the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. He says (p. 109): "In cases where the floor and walls of a well-developed quarry are fully exposed, as in the Clifton and Amelia County quarries in Virginia, the details of ancient operation are clearly displayed. In some cases it is seen that the task of cutting out the mass was just begun when operations in the quarry closed, while in others it was well under way and the bulbous nuclei

and *Hanohaskie*, of Batts,* we find synonyms of *Monâ-hassan'añough*, stand out in bold relief. In cases where under cutting has taken place the rounded form resembles a mushroom on its stem and is ready to be removed by a blow ; while in many other cases we see only roundish depressions in the quarry surface, in the bottom of which are stumps or scars indicating that removal of the mass had taken place. It often happened that the work of cutting was stopped by the discovery of defects in the stone. In very many cases defects were not discovered until too late, and the operations of removal at the last moment became abortive ; instead of breaking off at the base, as was intended, the cleavage of the stone was such that the body split in two, leaving a portion remaining attached to the stem." Professor Holmes gives a drawing in Plate LXXVI, which gives a more satisfactory idea of the whole range of this phenomenon than can any mere description.

* Batts, in his *Journal and Relation of a New Discovery in Western Virginia*

as suggested by Mr. Mooney; for the guides and interpreters of both of these travelers were Algonkins or spoke the language, and these were forms undoubtedly current among the settlers and traders in their time.

(Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. iii. p. 194), when at the limit of his travels, speaks of a "place on the River side, being a piece of very rich ground whereon ye *Mohetons* had formerly lived," and when he returns to the Tolera town, they found a *Mohetan* Indian there, who "informed them that they had been from the mountains half way to the place where they now lived, and yt ye next town beyond them lived on a plain levell from whence came abundance of salt." Some writers have concluded this tribal name should be Mohegan, and Winsor (Cartier to Frontenac, p. 229) fell into the same error. Mr. Mooney (Siouan Tribes

Farther to the northwest, as laid down on Smith's map and referred to but once in his history, appears another tribe of the *Monacans*, under the appellation of the *Monasukapanoughs*, or *Monasickapanoughs*. As

of the East, p. 37) has suggested the name *Mohetan*, from Siouan root terms denoting "a country town"; but as the name seems to have been a familiar colloquial term, as used by Batts, it seems more likely to have been a survival of the last portions of the Algonquian term bestowed by the Carolina or Roanoke Indians in 1585, viz.: *Chaunis Temoatan*, "the salt-making town" (*American Antiquarian*, vol. xii. pp. 1-15, Tooker). In my paper I may have exceeded the distance and located the town too far west, and if so, the valley of the Kanawha, in West Virginia, would have been better. And being thus identified the Mohetans must have been a tribe of the Shawnees.

is evident to all, we have here displayed another name with the same verbal prefix, as in the other cases, signifying to dig. Surely this confederacy well deserved the title bestowed upon it collectively of being the "diggers." Analysis of this word, as in the previous terms presented, gives us *Mona-sukapan'añough*, "people who dig the *sukapan* or *sickapan*." What is the "*sukapan*"? is the problem that now confronts us. This is comparatively easy of solution, although seemingly difficult at the first glance. The native of *Has-sunungae*, when interpreted, stated, among other matters, that the

Monacans did dwell as they and lived upon roots. The generic name for roots, tubers, or bulbs was *pen*, varying in some dialects to *pun*, *pan*, *pin*, *pon*, or *bun*. Therefore the "*sukapans*" were the tubers of a plant which these barbarous people dug for food and was perhaps their staple product. We, no doubt, find the parallel of "*Sukapan*" in *Sagapon* (or *Sackapun*), a component of a place name on Long Island, New York, in the term *Sagapon'ack*, now applied to a post-office and hamlet in the town of Southampton, from the first syllable of which the village of *Sag Harbor* derives its name.

The Micmac (Rand) *Segubun*, "a ground-nut," is another parallel. One of the towns of the *Kuskarawaokes* (later known as the *Nanticokes*), on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, had the same name. Smith says:* "Here doth inhabite the people of *Sarapinagh* (= ground-nut people), *Nause*, *Arseek*, and *Nantaquack* the best Marchants of all other Salvages." On Long Island the name was applied to the common ground-nut (*Apios tuberosa*, a leguminous, twining plant, producing clusters of dark purple flowers and having a root tuberous and pleasant to the

* Arber's Smith, p. 415.

taste), which are still to be found in great abundance at a swamp in the vicinity known as "*Sagg* swamp."

The prefix which denotes the species cannot in all cases be identified, but the generic name with its localizing affix is easily recognizable. Not long since, while in conversation with an intelligent Chippeway Indian in regard to this particular prefix, he informed me that it denoted a species which were "hard or difficult to get out of the ground." While the Massachusetts *siogkke*, "hard or difficult," may resemble the Long Island *sagga* (or *sacka*) in sound, I am inclined to

believe he was mistaken, and that the Long Island *sagga* and the Powhatan *suka* (or *sicka*) are identical, and are the parallel of the Cree *súgge*, "thick, close together" *—a derivation that fully describes the tubers of the *Apios tuberosa*, which grow close together, strung in clusters on a fibrous root. It was probably the same plant discovered by Captain Gosnold on one of the Elizabeth isles, on his visit to the New England coast in 1602, which Jchn Brierton, one of the voyagers, describes as "ground nuts as big as egges, as good as Potatoes, and 40 on a string, not two ynches vnder

* Howse, Grammar of the Cree, p. 40.

ground.”* Dr. J. W. Harshberger, of the University of Pennsylvania, informs me that “*Apios tuberosa*, or, as it is now called, *Apios apios*, by the recent upheaval in systematic names, is a plant of wide distribution and occurs abundantly in Virginia. I have two recorded localities for it—Jamestown and southwestern Virginia—and it is therefore to be found on the upper James.” It was undoubtedly the same plant seen by Hariot on the Roanoke,† viz.: “*Openauk* are a kind of roots of round forme, some of the bignes of walnuts, some far

* Arber’s Smith, p. 334.

† Narrative, p. 26.

greater, which are found in moist and marish grounds, growing many together, one by another, in ropes, or as thogh they were fastened with a string. Being boiled or sodden, they are a very good meate." Asa Gray, the eminent botanist, said: "Had civilization started in America instead of Asia, our ground-nut would have been the first developed esculent tuber, and would have probably held its place in the first rank along with potatoes and sweet potatoes of later acquisition." Thus the *Mona-sukapan'añough* were "a people who dig ground-nuts." Compare Otchipwe (Baraga) *Nin Moná apini*, "I dig potatoes." In

the historic name of *Saponi*,* as applied to a tribe in the annals of Virginia and North Carolina, and as evident by its generic *pon*, we have all that remains of the original appellative, and I believe Mr. Mooney (p. 27) is correct in suggesting its derivation therefrom.

The two tribes visited by Captain Newport, and mentioned by Smith

*They were called by the five Nations the *Todirichroones*, *Toderichrone*, or *Thoderighroonas*, as it is variously spelled in the records. The term probably denotes the "hunting-people," Onondaga *Hotoradhe-roni*. The proposition of the Governor of Virginia to the five Nations September 10, 1722, says: "The Christanna Indians whom you call *Todirichroones* that we comprehend under the name, the *Saponies*, *Ochineeches*, *Stenke-*

as the *Mowhemenchughes* (or *Mowhemenchouch*) and the *Massinacaks*, do not seem to come under the same head as the others in being "diggers," although they were confederate or tributary with them. The description of some as being very barbarous, living for the most part on wild beasts and fruits,

nocks, Meipontskys & Toteroes, all the forenamed Indians having their present Settlements on the East Side of the high Ridge of Mountains and between the two Great Rivers of Potomack & Roanoke, which you call *Kahongaronton* and *Konentcheneke*, etc." (Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. v. p. 673). "Those Indians called by the English *Cattabaws* (*Catawbas*) are called by us *Toderichroone*, are a false and treacherous people" (Answer of the Five Nations, etc., Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. v. p. 491).

shows that they were not to any extent agriculturists, and furnishes us a clew to the meaning of the term, when divided into its components of *Mowhe-mench'ughes*. The verbal prefix *Mowhe* (or *Mouhe*) in its sounds is identical with the Delaware *mawé*, Narragansett *Mowi* (or *Mouwi*), "to gather," "to bring together," "to pick up," etc. *Mench* is evidently the generic for small fruits or grain, in the plural form, the parallel of the Narragansett *meneash*, Micmac *Menich*, Delaware *Minak*, "fruit or berry," which gives us with its animate plural affix *-uk* (or *-ugh*), *Mowhe-mench'ugh*, "those who gather fruit"—that is to say,

they were a hunting people, who lived to a great extent on fruit or wild berries. There is a possibility, which I would suggest, that in the *Mahoc*, who occupied the territory between the falls of the river and the mountains at the time of Lederer's visit in 1670, were the survivors of the *Mowhe-mench'ughes* of Smith, and that in the term "*Mahoc*" we find a survival of the Algonquian term for the fruit-pickers.

Massinacack is marked as a king's residence on Smith's map. Strachey says: * "The neerest called *Mowheminke*, the farthest *Massinnacock*,

* Hist. of Travaille, p. 131.

distant one from another fourteen miles." Its other synonyms are *Massinnacacks** and *Massinacak*.† This term differs from the others in being simply a place-name, showing no action as performed by a verb as displayed in the previous interpretations and as evidenced by its locative termination. As to its analysis, I would suggest that *m'* is the impersonal particle, *assin*, "stones," which, with its substantival *ac* and locative suffix *ak* (= Narragansett *auk-it*, Massachusetts *ohkit*, Delaware *hacking*), gives us *M'assin-ac-ak*, "at the place of stones." It is quite possible that it may refer to the

* Smith, p. 71.

† *Ibid.*, p. 438.

“pyramid of stones” which John Lederer observed in 1670 near the village of Monacan, ten days’ travel above the falls. He was told that it represented the number of a colony which left a neighboring country because of over-population, a condition easily reached among hunting tribes. The emigrants, having been chosen by lot, had come to the present location under the leadership of a chief called *Monack*, from whom they derived the name of *Monacan*. Mr. Mooney comments on this statement: * “As the explorer stopped with them only long enough to learn the road to the

* Siouan Tribes, p. 29.

next tribe, his version of their migration legend must be taken with due allowance." This pyramid of stones was probably erected for reasons similar to that mentioned in the patent for Livingston Manor, New York, dated November 4, 1684:* "Place called by the natives *Wawanaquassick* (or, better [pp. 696, 697], *Ma-wanaquassick* = 'place where stones are gathered together'), where the heaps of stones lye the said heaps of stones upon which the Indians throw upon another as they passe by from an ancient custom among them."

The *Mannahock* or *Mannahoack*

* Doc. Hist. N. Y., vol. iii. p. 624.

confederacy consisted of perhaps a dozen tribes, of which the names of the principal eight have been preserved, although only four of them are shown on Smith's map. Smith's own acquaintance with them seems to have been limited to an encounter with a large hunting party in 1608. Smith, however, was a man who knew how to improve an opportunity; and having the good fortune to take one of the *Hassinnungaes* prisoner, he managed to get from him, by the aid of his guide and interpreter *Mosco*, a very fair idea of the tribes and territories of the confederacy, their alliances and warfare, their manner of living, and their

cosmogony, and succeeded before his departure in arranging a precarious peace between them and their hereditary enemies, the Powhatan confederacy.

Smith's interpreter on this occasion was a savage of *Wighcocomoco*, at the mouth of the Potomac river, and the names of these *Mannahock* tribes are of his rendering, and, as the fact appears, are Algonquian interpretations of Siouan names. *Mannahock*, however, is an exception, and is evidently his descriptive term for the whole of these people collectively and did not indicate a separate tribe. I would suggest its analysis from the indefinite particle *m'* pre-

fixed to the verbal radical *an*, "to be more than, to surpass," united to the verb *hahânu* or *ahânu*, "he laughs"; *ahânuock*, "they are merry"; or, as the term would be rendered in the Massachusetts or Narragansett, *M'anahânuock*, "they are very merry, or a very merry people." The verbal root is probably imitative. Smith remarks, in striking confirmation of this derivation:* "And so we left foure or five hundred of our merry *Manna-hocks* singing, dancing, and making merry." Dr. Hale remarks of Nikonha, from whom he discovered the Siouan affinity of the Tute-

* Arber's Smith, p. 429.

los : * “A wrinkled, smiling countenance. Not only in physiognomy, but also in demeanor and character, he differed strikingly from the grave and composed Iroquois among whom he dwelt. The lively, mirthful disposition of his race survived in full force in its latest member. His replies to our inquiries were intermingled with many jocose remarks and much good-humored laughter.” In a verity, his portrait shows all these characteristics of his race, which, together with the translation of their Algonquian appellation, is collateral evidence as to the Siouan affinity of some of these tribes.

* Tutelo Tribe and Language, p. 9.

There is but little known as to the tribes of this confederacy. The pressure of the cruel Iroquois on the north and the advancement of civilization on the east probably compelled them to migrate early to the southward; therefore I shall devote but a few words to the less interesting. The savage whom Smith captured said that * “he and all with him were of *Hassininga*, where there are three kings more, like unto them, namely, the king of *Stegora*, the king of *Tauxuntania*, and the king of *Shakahonia*, that were come to *Mohaskahod*, which is onely a hunting town.” These are

* Arber’s Smith, p. 427.

the four tribes marked on Smith's map; consequently must have been considered the most important.

The Hassinnungaes or Hassinuga*

* In my paper on The Problem of the Rechahecrian Indians of Virginia (American Anthropologist, vol. xi. p. 268, 89, appears the following, relating to this tribe: "These people, on supposition only, have been relegated to the Siouan division, although so far no direct evidence has been discovered that would connect them with that group. In fact, as named by Smith, our knowledge of the after history of this particular people is absolutely nothing, except as here inferred. Neither Lederer nor Batts mentions a tribe living in Virginia who can be identified with them by name. Lederer, in speaking of those people he encountered, whom we now know belong to the Siouan linguistic group, writes: 'The Indians of these parts are none of those which the English removed from Virginia'—

is derived from *hassun*, "a rock"; *wónogk*, "hole or den," which, with the terminal of the animate plural, denotes "those who dwelt in caves or holes of the rocks," thus indi-

a statement leading us to believe that those not mentioned were among those so removed, and that the *Hassinnungaes* were the 'westerly Runnegados' assembled in 1621, under the command of Itoyatin, at the lonely place of *Rickahake*. Lederer (1669-1670) expressly mentions, however, that 'I have heard several Indians testify that the nation of *Rickahohokans*, who dwell not far to the westward of the Apalatean Mountains, are seated upon a land, as they term it, of great waves, by which I suppose they mean the sea.'

"As he travels further southwest Lederer learns that 'over the Suala Mountains lay the *Rickohocans*.' This nation, thus located in this indefinite way, is believed to have been those now designated as Cherokees,

cating a low state of barbarism, as Smith truthfully observes. Its equivalent is found in the Massachusetts *Hassunnegk*, "cave" (Eliot), Gen. xxix. 7, 17; *Hassunonogqut*,

and that the term is one of the early synonyms for that people, as before stated.

"In summing up the questions involved in the foregoing presentation of tradition, story, and fact, we find that if these *Rickahokans* of Lederer were originally those of *Rickahake* under Itoyatin and were the Indians driven out of Virginia by the colonists about 1623, and who were again the invaders of 1656, as mentioned by the early Virginian writers and by Powell, as the foregoing would seem to make them, we can then account for the association of the Cherokees of Haywood's traditional story with the Powhatans of eastern Virginia. A striking confirmation of the identity of the *Hassinnungaes* with the Cherokees is presented by the translation

“holes of the rocks,” Jer. xvi. 16. A number of these caves, once inhabited by red men, have been discovered in Virginia. William H. Holmes * describes one of these typical rock-shelters, situated in Harrison County, due west from the

of the Algonquian appellation of the first as ‘a people who live in caves,’ as compared with the translation of the epithet bestowed upon the Cherokees by members of the Iroquoian linguistic family.

“ Schoolcraft says : ‘ Their traditions are replete with accounts of these war parties against the *Oyada* or Cherokees.’ They called the Cherokees by way of derision, *We-yau-dah* and *O-ya-dah*, ‘ meaning a people who live in caves.’ Morgan says : ‘ *O-ya-da-ga-o-no*, the Iroquois name for the Cherokees, signifies “ The people who live in caves.” ’ ”

* American Anthropologist, vol. iii. p. 217.

home of this tribe. (Strachey, however, states that they lived farther west than Smith locates them.) This shelter displayed on its rear wall some interesting petroglyphs, and in the débris of its floor were found potsherds, arrow points, paint-stones, and other objects, both natural and artificial. Professor H. C. Mercer, of the University of Pennsylvania, has explored many of these rock-shelters of Virginia, which showed no great antiquity—in fact, he was astonished by the comparatively modern evidence of their occupancy by the red men.

The *Stegarakies* or *Stegoras* (= *stegan-ac'anoughs*) survived as

the *Stenkenocks*, as mentioned by Governor Spotswood, in 1711, as one of the tribes living near Fort Christanna, in Virginia, which the colonial government desired to secure from the further attacks of the Iroquois.* This name is undoubtedly Algonquian, as its terminal indicates, but so far I have been unable to identify its prefix.

The *Tauxanies*, *Tanxsintania*, or *Tauxuntania* were probably those mentioned by Lederer as the *Nuntaneuck*, speaking the same language as the *Monacan*, *Nahyssan*, *Saponi*, and others. This term in one form, *Tauxanies* (= *Taux-anoughs*), seems

* Mooney, p. 21.

to denote a "people of a short stature"; Powhatan, *Taux* or *Tanks*, "small, little"; Delaware, *Tangitto*, "short, small," while its longer forms seem to contain the radical *-itan*, "a flowing stream or river"; hence *Taux-itan'anoughs*, "people of the little rivers," as referred to by Smith.

The *Shakahonia* or *Shackaconias* were "the stone people"; *Shacahocan-anoughs*, Powhatan (Strachey), *Shacahocan* (Smith), *Shacquohocan*, "stone." This meaning as rendered by these two authorities is not the literal one, for its instrumentive generic suffix *-hocan* indicates something artificial.* It denoted possibly

* Howse's Grammar of the Cree, p. 182.

a stone prepared for slinging, tossing, or rolling, according to the meaning of its prefix *shacka* or *shacquo-*, which I have not been able to identify to my satisfaction. In the name *Shoccories* of Lederer and Lawson we find probably its synonym of a later period. They were living in close proximity to the *Occaneeches* and *Enos*. Possibly the latter were but another village of the *Shoccories* when visited by Lederer, as they were only fourteen miles apart, with the same customs. They were devoted to an athletic game, described by Lederer, in 1672, as "slinging of stones"; and in 1701, when seen by Lawson, the two tribes

were united, and had not forgotten their old game mentioned by Lederer, which may be recognized as the universal wheel-and-stick game of the eastern and southern tribes; for Lawson says in his narrative they were much addicted to a sport they call chenco, which is carried on with a staff and bowl made of stone, which they trundle upon a smooth place, like a bowling green, made for the purpose.*

The *Ontponeas* (= *Ontpon'anoughs*) were another "people of roots or tubers," as shown by its generic *pon*. The species indicated by its prefix

* Mooney, p. 63.

ont I have been unable to identify. It was probably but another descriptive term for the *sagapon*, for Strachey gives us *Ouh-punnawk*, "a ground-nut." The *Meipontksey* of Governor Spotswood, who in 1722 were living, under the protection of the English, near Fort Christanna, were probably a remnant of these people.*

The *Tegninateos* or *Tegoneas*, as Smith varies their name, are but briefly mentioned. They were probably a people dwelling at that time far off in the mountains or, as Smith remarks, "in the hilly countries." The name evidently contains the

* *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Algonquian element *-atin*, "hill or mountain," and the terminal of *-añough* or *-añies*, "people." The prefix *Tegni* or *Tego* is seemingly from the same verbal root as the Narragansett *tagu*, "to go up," and possibly related to the Massachusetts *tohkoo*, "to climb"; hence *Tego-atin'añough*, people who climb the mountains, or "the mountaineers," as we might put it. It is quite possible that the *Toteras* or *Toleras*, who are represented in Batt's manuscripts * as a "mountain tribe," were the descendants of this nation.

The *Whonkentyaes* or *Whonken-*

* Col. Hist. N. Y., vol. iii. p. 194.

teas are another tribe of the *Man-nahocks*, or tributary to them, who are unplaced on Smith's map. The phonetic sound of this appellative suggests that they were probably the ancestors of the *Akenatzies*, or *Occaneeches*, as it is varied, who were living, as Mr. Mooney has indicated, on an island just below the confluence of the rivers Dan and Staunton, in Mecklenburg County, Virginia, when visited by John Lederer in 1670. I would suggest that the derivation of the term *Whon-kente'-as* or *Whon-kenchi-aneas* as from the Narragansett *awáun*, Massachusetts *auwon*, "there is somebody," *i. e.*, who is strange or differ-

ent from those speaking.* The second component *-kentie*, *-kenatzie*, or *-caneèche*, seems to have its parallel in various forms of the verb "to talk" or "to speak," as in the Long Island *unkenchie*, "the strange talker"; Narragansett *awáun-ken-taunchem?* "Who are you that discourses?" Delaware *n'iechsin*, "to speak"; Powhatan *kekaten*, "you tell," which, with its terminal, gives us *whon-kentie-añies*, "people of a strange talk, or another speech." This analysis confirms Smith's statement that the *Mannahocks* were "many different in language."

*See Trumbull's *Algonkin Names for Man*, p. 14.

Again, in noticeable corroboration of this derivation, the *Occaneeches* seem to have been of a different linguistic stock from their Siouan neighbors. Mr. Horatio Hale, quoting the Virginia historian, Beverley, says : * “ The general language here used is that of the *Occaneeches*, though they have been but a small nation ever since those parts were known to the English ; but in what their language may differ from that of the Algonkins I am not able to determine. Further on he [Beverley] gives us the still more surprising information that this general language was used by the priests

* Tutelo Tribe and Language, p. 12.

and conjurers of the different Virginia nations in performing their religious ceremonies in the same manner [he observes] as the Catholics of all nations do their mass in Latin." Now, it appears to me, on careful consideration of this statement of Beverley's in all its aspects, that it is open to only one construction—that is to say, if the term *Whonkenties* is a translation by an Algonquian interpreter of a Siouan description of a nation of another or different speech, residing among and tributary to them, and is also, as I suggest, a synonym for *Occaneeche* or *Akenatzie*, it would surely lead us to infer that the language of

the *Occaneeches* was not Siouan, but was really nothing more nor less than a dialect of the Algonquian. It is evident that traders living in the English settlements, closely associated with the Powhatan Indians and employing them as guides, would not be likely to speak other than their language in bartering with the outlying tribes.

So far as the religion of the Virginia Indians is concerned, Mr. Mooney observes: * “Lederer’s account of their religion is too general to be definite, and he neglects to state to what particular tribal language the Indian names be-

* Siouan Tribes of the East, p. 33.

long." * In answer to this observation, I would remark, all that is necessary in order to identify the language to which these names belong is to compare Lederer's narration with

* There is absolutely no question about the identity of the Indian names used by Lederer; he also says (p. 9): "The Apalataean mountains called in Indian *Paemotinck* Those promontories because lower than the main ridge are called by the Indians *Taux Paemotinck*." Being in Indian, and that Indian Algonquian, precludes any other. *Paemotinck* = Powhatan, *Pomotawh*, "a hill," or "mountain"; Abnaki, *Pemadené*, "*au desuss de la montagne*"; *Taux Paemotinck*, "little hill,"—literally, "a sloping hill," one that deviates from a straight line; "aslant," "twisted"; Delaware, *pimen*, "slanting," "oblique" (See Trumbull's Com. Ind. Geo. Names, p. 40).

that of Captain John Smith. Lederer says : * “ They worship one God, creator of all things, whom they call *Okaeè*, others *Mannith* (= Narragansett *Manit*) ; to him alone the high priest, or *Periku*, offers sacrifice, and yet they believe he has no regard for sublunary affairs, but commits the government of mankind to lesser deities, as *Quia-cosough* and *Tagkanysough*—that is, good and evil spirits. To these, inferior priests pay their devotion and sacrifice, at which they make recitals to a lamentable tune of the great things done by their ancestors.”

* Discoveries, p. 11.

On the other hand Smith says : *
“ This sacrifice they held to be so necessary that if they should omit it their *Okee*, or devel, and all their other *Quiyoughcosughes*, which are their other gods,” etc. The term *Okee* of these two early authorities is undoubtedly related to the Massachusetts *Ohke*, “ earth,” the passive inanimate producer ; *Ok-as*, the passive animate producer or agent of production.† Spelman‡ calls this

* Arber's Smith, pp. 78, 374.

† See Trumbull's Notes 49, 50, Narr. Club, ed. R. Williams' Key.

‡ Arber's Smith, p. cv.

When I wrote this paper in 1895, I overlooked the names of the gods as mentioned by Spelman, and printed on the margin of this page, viz., “ *Caukewis, Manato, Tauk-*

god *Cakeres*, seemingly a variation; related also to the Delaware "*Kick-eron*, who is the original of all, who has not only once produced or made all things, but produces every day," which Dr. Brinton terms the eternally active, hidden part of the universe.* Hence Smith may have been in error in assigning to the god *Okee* the attributes of his satanic majesty—a god whom Lederer more correctly termed "the creator of all

ingesouke, *Quiausack*," which are identical with those mentioned by Lederer, but antedating him by over half a century. This is proof positive that the language used in their religious ceremonies was nothing more nor less than Algonquian.

* Lenapé and their Legends, p. 133.

things.”* In addition, Smith in his brief vocabulary gives us *Okee*, “gods”; *Quiyoughcosughes*, “pettie gods and their affinities.” The latter term, as well as Lederer’s two, with the terminal in *-osough*, is what Howse† terms the form of the adjective animate verb (= Massachusetts *-ussu*; Narragansett *-ésu*; Cree,

* Governor Winslow in his Narrative of the Plantation, 1624, says of the New England Indians: “For as they conceive of many diverse powers, so of one, whom they call *Kichtan*, to be the principal maker of all the rest; and to be made by none. He, they say, created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein; also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and all mankind came; but how they became so dispersed, that they know not.”

† Grammar of the Cree, p. 25.

-*issu*, "he is," or "it is"). Hence we have *Quiyoughcosugh*, "he is lesser or little," which may be related to the Massachusetts *Ogguhsussu*, "it is lesser or little." To this god the Powhatans offered yearly a sacrifice of children.* *Tagkanysough* (= *Tackan-issu*), "he is of the wilderness," "god of the forest." This agreement of Smith and Lederer, together with the analysis of the names, proves beyond question that the general language used by the Virginia tribes in their religion, and in their intercourse with alien tribes, must have been necessarily Algonquian. The fact that Beverley, as

* Smith, p. 375.

he remarks, was unable to determine the difference between the language of the *Occaneeches* and that of the *Algonkins* would indicate to my mind that they were practically identical, with only an archaic difference—a difference similar to that mentioned by Mr. Mooney as existing between the Cherokee language and that used in the sacred formulas of their shamans. Mr. Mooney says: * “They are full of archaic and figurative expressions, many of which are unintelligible to the common people and some of which even the shamans themselves are now

* Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 343.

unable to explain. These archaic forms, like the old words used by our poets, lend a peculiar beauty which can hardly be rendered in a translation. They frequently throw light on the dialectic evolution of the language, as many words found now only in the nearly extinct Lower Cherokee dialect occur in the formulas which in other respects are written in the Middle and Upper dialect." These archaic traits have been observed by Hale,* Cushing,† Matthews,‡ and by other explorers

* Iroquois Book of Rites, p. 46.

† Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 12.

‡ Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, p. 456.

into the secret rites of tribes of other linguistic stocks ; and all things being taken into consideration, this solution of the *Occaneeche* problem is open to fewer objections than to accept the unlikely supposition that the Algonquian tribes of Virginia used the Siouan language in their religious ceremonies.

It is perhaps needless for me to observe, after the foregoing presentation of the points under discussion, that the questions as to what were the commodities of the *Monacans* and what gave rise to thoughts of mines, as well as questions third and fourth, have been fully answered. The fact is that a partial knowledge

by the colonists of the language of the Powhatans, acquired during the first few months of the settlement, gave them but an insufficient idea as to what the *Monacans* dug from the earth, and as their knowledge increased and they became more familiar with the language, habits, and customs of the natives, they learned that the *Monacans* mined absolutely nothing desirable. As time grew apace, the truth soon dawned upon their minds that the necessities of life were to be preferred to the phantom gold and other will-o'-wisps of an unknown country, and as these prime essentials were procurable from the indus-

trious native agriculturists nearer home, to this food-quest, more than to any other, was the remainder of Smith's stay in the colony devoted.

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